

PEACE NEWS

No. 489 October 26, 1945 2d.

BRITAIN MUST ACT ALONE FOR EUROPE

NOTHING has been done to check the mass-expulsion of Germans. In the complete deadlock that exists between the Big Three it was unlikely that anything would be done, for the real cause of the deadlock is diametrically opposite conceptions on the right treatment of Germany. The Russians want Germany destroyed, at any rate for a generation or two. Britain has discovered, rather late in the day, that it does not want Germany destroyed: that its sanity and its conscience are revolted by the idea when it comes to realization.

It is no good pretending that Britain can carry through the purpose—particularly dear to Mr. Bevin—of ensuring a tolerable life to Germany as a whole, against the definite opposition of Russia, the comparative indifference of USA, and the narrow-minded fearfulness of de Gaulle. That is the tragedy. Britain must do all she can, where she can.

Obsolete chauvinism

THE execution of Laval has its apt commentary in the statement on French foreign policy made by de Gaulle and the action of the French representatives on the Control Commission in Berlin in vetoing all preparations for the establishment of departments of a central administration in Berlin. "We do not want a Reich any more."

That is a reversion to the naive anti-German chauvinism which was already obsolete in the days of Clemenceau and Poincaré, against which Laval's whole policy was a deliberately chosen alternative. Apparently, de Gaulle believes that the heaven-sent opportunity for the break-up of the Reich has come: and that the militarist nationalism which he is trying to galvanize into life in France can flourish on the chaos.

Nevertheless, it is a fatal policy for France—not to speak of Europe. France will be condemned to use up her sadly depleted social energies in trying to hold down a Germany which she was quite incapable of resisting on the battlefield.

The results of the French elections indicate a continuation of the paralysis in the political field: three practically equal parties, all more to the Left than is de Gaulle, unable to unite on a positive policy.

Profound French apathy

INDEED, though it is reckoned impolite to refer to it, the moral decline of France is almost as grave a problem for Europe—though of a quite different order—as the destruction of Germany. France is, by the testimony of sympathetic and penetrating observers sinking into a profound apathy. It probably has not the political energy to replace de Gaulle. Yet hardly anybody really believes in him: though, in a sense,

Observer's Commentary

he is representative of the condition of France, in that his whole policy is one of make-believe.

The difference is that, whereas he believes in his make-believe—France a strong, virile, imperial nation—the average Frenchman does not. It is a strange spectacle—the naive Kiplingism of de Gaulle superimposed upon a disillusioned people, who acquiesce in it because they are incapable of uniting upon an alternative. De Gaulle's "strong government" is, in fact, very weak—not daring either to control the black-market, or to force through any radical financial or economic reform. The gulf between rich and poor in France to-day is fantastic. Yet de Gaulle will probably go on *faute de mieux*: and so will the decline of France.

Peron and the populace

THE Argentine has been giving a demonstration of some comfortably forgotten facts: (1) that Fascism is by no means dead, (2) that Fascism is essentially a popular

SAVE EUROPE NOW

126 M.P.s. get debate to-day

Signatories to the appeal: now over 47,000.

TODAY (FRIDAY) THE COMMONS IS DEBATING A RESOLUTION WHICH FOLLOWS CLOSELY THE LINES OF THE RECENT CONWAY HALL PROTOTYPE.

Early this week 126 MPs had added their names to the Motion, which is sponsored by Mr. Grenfell, Mr. R. R. Stokes, Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, together with two Conservative front-benchers, Mr. Oliver Stanley and Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, and—perhaps best-informed of any—Mr. ...

the matter—Sir Arthur Salter. It details steps for the Government to take to avert "the possibility that millions of men, women, and children in Europe may die of starvation and cold during the coming winter."

These include:

To use its influence with those who have been expelling vast numbers of Germans from their homes in Eastern Europe to discontinue the expulsions at least until the winter is over.

To secure greater production of coal in the Ruhr.

To increase supplies of food and other necessities by releasing stores, lorries, and cargo ships held in reserve.

To set up immediately a Supreme Economic Council to co-ordinate the efforts of all Governments concerned in European reconstruction.

movement and (3) that it is not quite as black as it is painted. Perhaps the extraordinary enthusiasm which Peron evokes among the Argentine workers will be explained away by saying that Peron is not a Fascist, after all. And that may be true: because nobody really knows what Fascism is.

The Russians have the simplest and most practical definition: all that is not Communism is Fascism. Social democrats are social fascists. Ergo Britain is a Fascist country. The definition is simple, but false. A more precise definition: that Fascism is authoritarianism based on popular support has the defect that it includes Communism. But is that really a defect? Is not the likeness between Fascism and Communism more important than their differences?

However that may be, Peron's movement is strongly nationalist, bitterly opposed to capitalist exploitation—especially foreign—and to corrupt Parliamentarism, and the huge vested interests of the haciendas. It certainly does not seem worse and may be better than any previous Argentine régime, or than anything the USA would regard with favour.

Nazis in "Barleycorn"

MR. R. H. CROSSMAN points to one of the dilemmas of British policy in Germany. He gives a gratifying picture of the work done by the military administration in the British zone. It has restored confidence in law and order; it has released under "operation Barleycorn" masses of German prisoners to work on the land.

In the British zone every field seems to be well cultivated, and there are plenty of cattle as well—an astonishing contrast with the countryside on either side of the Autobahn in the Russian sector west of Berlin.

But he thinks that by accepting everybody who is technically capable and willing to work the British administration is neglecting the denazification of Germany, by not "permitting the drastic purge of German by German which is the only real foundation for German political re-education."

The trouble is that we are exercising far too much direct control—instead of pushing responsibility on the politically-minded anti-Fascists and exerting indirect control through them. But in order to attempt this latter

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

INSIDE YOU WILL FIND

LAURENCE HOUSMAN on "The Dick Sheppard I Knew." Page 2.

THE VERY REV. Dr. W. R. INGE on "No More Power Politics." Page 3.

HARCOURT WILLIAMS' poem "Ten Just Men." Page 4.

ANOTHER GREAT LONDON MEETING

Dr. Kershner appeals — for the Continent's children

AT a packed meeting sponsored by the Save the Children Fund at the Caxton Hall last Friday, presided over by Mr. Gerald Barry, editor of the News Chronicle, messages of support were read from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Westminster and the Moderator of the Free Church Council.

Dr. Howard Kershner, visiting this country for a few days on his way back to the United States from a fact-finding tour of the Continent, said that our present enemies, General Winter and Admiral Hunger, were likely to destroy more people than had perished in the armed conflict.

Bruised and battered Britain was a paradise compared with the land of bread lines from which he had returned. Back in the States the contrast would be more striking still. The Americans had contracted to send 8,000,000 tons of food to Europe this year and his report of British eagerness to help eased his task of further arousing the conscience of America.

Of conditions in the liberated countries he said that in Holland doctors reported many cases of children who showed no signs of recovery after three months of proper nourishment. Few children would be able to attend school because of the shortage of shoes and clothing. In France the physical and mental health of the children was permanently affected, according to medical opinion. A survey of 13-year-old children showed them to be 3½ in. shorter and six kilos lighter than 13-year-olds of five years ago.

This generation, on whom the burden of reconstruction would fall, would be the weakest for no one knew how long. This was the terrible price to be paid for not sending food through the blockade for five long years.

Roy Walker paid tribute to Dr. Kershner's work for the hungry in Europe. Our best thanks would be an assurance that we would take up a share of his burden. Our ration cuts had been restored—"thanks," says the Minister of Food, "to Australia and New Zealand." That meant that foodstuffs laden with essential proteins and fats had sailed round Europe, where there was desperate shortage.

He read a report of the International Red Cross, published in Geneva. It said of Brandenburg, "Many country towns and villages have been entirely abandoned owing to typhoid. In some villages all children born in the past year have died already. The authorities believe that all children born in Brandenburg province in 1944 and 1945 are destined to die of starvation or under-nourishment."

Britain could spare a million tons of food from her reserve stocks this winter. He would go on believing that until the Government published the relevant figures. That meeting would fail in its purpose if the argument deteriorated into a controversy

FOOD MAY NOW BE RE-EXPORTED

Enquiries have been made about a consignment of butter from South Africa, which it was intended to re-export to France. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, Dr. Edith Summerskill, has now communicated the following decision:—

THE Government have recently agreed that overseas relief organizations shall be allowed to import food into this country for trans-shipment to the Continent, provided that the food remains in bond during the whole time it is here, and that a declaration of contents is passed to the Ministry of Food...

Our attitude to further consignments destined for the Continent is, briefly, that though we cannot encourage, equally we cannot dissuade South Africa from making these collections for the benefit of Europe.

over figures. The fundamental questions were:

Do we believe that our food standards must be protected at whatever cost to others?

Do we believe that food should be distributed according to human need, irrespective of nationality?

Do we believe in the principle of reconciliation expressed in the words, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him?"

The problem of saving Europe's children this winter would decide these questions, their fate and ours also. "There is a great multitude; there is only a little food. If we do not share it they will perish. If we share it our civilisation may survive."

Mr. Victor Gollancz said that Germany's fate was bound up with that of the rest of Europe. The only question to be considered was where the need was greatest. In Germany it was estimated that 10,000,000 people might die of starvation during the next six months. Children were now falling dead from starvation.

Other countries had independent governments able to negotiate for their needs, but in Germany we had imposed unconditional surrender. We were thus morally bound to see that the people, having surrendered, were allowed to live in as decent circumstances as possible.

The Chairman then put to the meeting resolutions similar to those which at the Conway Hall, and these were passed unanimously.

TOTAL AND INDIVISIBLE

Peace, Maxim Litvinov once said, is indivisible. He was speaking of peace at the international level; and meant that there could be no security of peace between individual nations till there was security of peace between all. But the indivisibility of peace holds, we believe, on all levels of human existence. What we call Democracy, for instance, is a system of government whereby internal differences of opinion are resolved without violence. The decline of liberal democracy has therefore been the accom-

paniment of an unprecedented period of war and violence.

We believe the impulse to ordered liberty is eternal. It has reached its lowest ebb, but it will gather strength again. Man will never be conditioned out of his humanity altogether. Peace News aims to be the leading organ of indivisible peace and total humanity. By sending a contribution to the Peace News fund, you will be helping it to become what it desires to be.

THE EDITOR.

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TOLERANT OR PERVERSE ?

SEEING that the majority of the apologists for Russia—notably the New Statesman—have now changed their tune, it was a little surprising to receive even a few letters from our readers protesting against our criticism of Soviet Russia. It was even more surprising to discover that not one of the protesters offered any defence whatever of the actual Russian policy which we have condemned, but that they based their objection on the ground that condemnation of Russia was intrinsically wrong and, above all, contrary to pacifism because it would increase the possibilities of eventual war with Russia.

There is no evidence that such a conception of pacifism is at all widely held in the movement. We believe that is peculiar to an eccentric and exceptional few. But it is as well to make clear our conviction that pacifism of this kind—if it is to be called pacifism—is morally perverse. It is "appeasement" all over again. We are to be silent about manifest iniquities, because if we utter our candid judgment about them we may arouse indignation, which must in time find expression in war.

In the first place, even if war were the certain consequence of honest indignation, we hold that the indignation should be expressed. What is it indeed that we are indignant about? Something that is itself worse than war: namely, the deliberate effort, when war is over, to exterminate a people which has surrendered to the conqueror. The belief that war is the greatest of all human evils, when it is held in such a way as to imply that every evil other than war ought to be tolerated and condoned in order to avert war, must lead to a corruption of the moral sense.

But in the second place, the assumption that the expression of indignation at the cruel behaviour of a nation makes war with that nation more probable is as false as it is cowardly. Most of the nations of Western Europe—the French, the Germans, the Dutch in particular—expressed their indignation at the injustice of our war with the Boer Republics. This did not lead to war with any of them; but it did do something towards making the British conscience uneasy, and preparing the way for real peace-making. Indeed, we doubt whether there is a single instance in history where the expression of genuine moral indignation has precipitated war.

Certainly, there is always, in these days of infinite propaganda, a danger that moral indignation may be artificially stimulated by those who desire that there shall be war. But in the present case, if it is suggested that indignation against Russia is being aroused by false reports—there is a quite simple corrective ready to the Russian hand.

Let the Russian zone of Europe be made free to newspaper correspondents. This was promised months ago. Yet nothing has been done. Were it not for the tiny windows into the Eastern darkness that are open in Berlin and Vienna, we should be in total ignorance of what is being done. Through those windows, we see enough to be appalled. If pacifism means pretending not to see it, we shall have to change our creed.

There are quite enough people in this country—though there are more in most others—to whom it is sacrilege to suggest, and the sin against the Holy Ghost to assert, that Russia is not entirely justified in continuing to liquidate human beings by the million in order that "the Revolution may triumph." But they are not pacifists, and never professed to be. They are the advocates of class war pushed to its last and bloodiest conclusions: we do not expect them to blench when the war against the capitalist class takes on the bewildering form of annihilating the humble and the oppressed—the proletariat itself.

But that pacifists professed should adopt an attitude that is essentially the same as this twisted fanaticism is, to us, and for ever will be, an unfathomable moral mystery.

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THE DICK SHEPPARD

A memoir by LAURENCE HOUSMAN

I knew

I ONCE heard a saint defined as one who made goodness attractive. If that definition is accepted, Dick Sheppard was pre-eminently a saint. He was one of the two Englishmen whom I have known who were loved even by their opponents. The other was George Lansbury: both of them pacifists.

It is characteristic of the charm of Dick Sheppard's personality that nobody who knew him, or knew of him, thought of calling him anything else but Dick Sheppard. His full initials were H. R. L. Sheppard, but though I was one of his closest friends, I do not know what the H or the L stand for. The R was Richard, and from Richard he became Dick.

He was not always a pacifist. That could hardly be expected of one who received the conventional education of an English Public School, whose father was a dignitary of the Church of England, in close relation to the Court, and who himself became a Church of England clergyman at an early age, with that he became secretary to the the ministry. Nor did the fact out any exceeding great call to Archbishop of York help to draw him in the direction of being a free lance for the teaching of Christ, which he presently became.

I did not myself get to know him until he had for some years been Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, a church which under his energetic ministrations came presently to be regarded as the parish church of London. Before he received that appointment, he was an Army chaplain during the War; and even before he had become a complete pacifist, he said to me: "My position was indefensible, for I was then urging others to do what I would not do myself." That statement gives, I think, the key to his pacifism, which was fundamentally based on the conviction that nothing would have induced Christ to do the things which war calls upon a man to do, and that anything which Christ would have refused to do, a faithful follower of Christ should refuse to do also.

Against that standpoint, all questions of mere self preservation, individual or national, for him did not count; though he did believe that the putting of such a standpoint into practice was the best means for the preservation of everything that makes life worth living.

No hate in him

I think the reason why his opponents loved him was that he had no hate in him, and was ready to love everybody and it is difficult, in the face of that attitude, for hatred to take hold.

Another of his endearing qualities was that he was always so eager to learn. He was a great questioner, and a very good listener, and he would listen more sympathetically than anyone else I ever knew, to the statement of a case with which he entirely disagreed. It was curious how sympathetic he could be, without in the least altering his own standpoint. Sincerity, however wrongheaded, ruled out estrangement.

When he died, a friend said of him that what most marked him was his exuberant goodness, and exuberant is a good word for it. There was about it an eagerness, an enthusiasm, and an overflowing energy which carried away difficulties, and made estrangement impossible. I have known of cases where what were regarded as his extreme views made some of his friends angry with him for a time, but their anger could not last; and there was one instance, I remember, of which he told me shortly before he died, when, by his unfaltering statement of the case for pacifism at the Church Congress, he had angered



Died October, 31, 1937

(perhaps because he had so embarrassed) a very high dignitary of the Church of England, whom I must leave nameless, because what follows was told me as private. Yet a few days later that same dignitary came and said to him, "You know, Dick, if I could think as you do on this matter, I should have a quieter conscience."

Brightest weapon

I think it was because he gave so many who heard him an unquiet conscience over their acceptance of war, that he was so great a propagandist for peace; and when he spoke at public meetings, one of the brightest weapons in his armoury was the delightful good humour with which he answered hostile questions.

I only knew him for the last fifteen years of his life; I could not write his biography, for I know next to nothing of its details. What I have already told covers most of what I know. But without knowing any of the details, his life to me has become the most real of any with which I have come in contact. With him was my last-formed friendship; it was also the greatest and the happiest. We often differed greatly, but we never quarrelled; and that friendly acceptance of difference between individuals was the experience which he believed could be attained, through faithful following of the teaching of Christ, by communities, races, and nations, and all the different religions by which the world is divided.

I think he believed that in every great religion Christ can be found as a true centre of its life, and he would certainly have endorsed the saying of a missionary to China whom I once heard say "I did not go to China to teach Christ to the people of China, so much as to find Him already there."

C.O. TRAINING FUND

CO Fellowship Week, Oct. 20-27, marks the launching of the new CO Training Fund, recently set up by the Central Board for COs. The fund exists to help COs who, because of their CO stand, have been prevented from starting or continuing their training, and have not the means to proceed. Grants will normally be made only where Government facilities are inapplicable, and details are being worked out by the Central Board Executive.

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1934 — OCTOBER — 1945

ON October 16, 1934, Dick Sheppard sent his letter to the Press that gave rise to PPU. On October 27, 1945, we are celebrating that occasion by holding a special gathering in London: particulars will be found elsewhere in this paper. Last year this celebration was not held. This year we hope that a really large crowd of PPU friends will gather to enjoy the good programme arranged. We hope, too, that those who for any reason cannot be present will remember us that day and share in our dedication.

★

HOW do we best honour Dick Sheppard? Certainly not by lip homage alone. Nor necessarily by slavish imitation of what he did to try to avert war in the years leading up to 1939. His photograph hangs on my wall as I write this column. It greeted some of us as we met yesterday for an Area Council Meeting at a provincial centre that bears his name. How is he relevant to us today in our changed and somewhat more complicated situation?

★

AS I understand him, Dick Sheppard was deeply concerned with the creation of right relationships between peoples, not simply with the avoidance of war. He accepted the responsibility for doing what he saw ought to be done and called on others to accept the same personal responsibility. He had the courage to follow the truth as he saw it wherever it led him. He was a genius at uniting Christians and non-Christians. He gave himself in the cause.

★

THE future of the Union is uncertain. At the end of such a war, with so great a development in the science of destruction, that is inevitable. Out of uncertainty will come a new awareness. Out of the conflict of ideas will come fresh grasp of truth. The witness required today is not identical with that given in 1934. But the spirit and challenge of his life still speak to us as we go forward in the interests of peace in the movement which he founded. There are ways in which it still should be true to say that Dick Sheppard unites us.

★

AT a time when it is essential that, without compromising conscience, men should put first things first and be willing to sink all secondary differences, working together for a world in which personality is again respected and trust re-established, we shall do well to remember him.

P. H. F.

Education and the pacifist

by Claude Birtwistle

DURING the past few years there has been a spate of educational reform discussed and legislated; our whole educational world has been altered—on paper. But in vain have I searched Peace News for any comment. A few weeks ago we had an excellent short series of articles from Wilfred Wellock, but apart from that it appears that pacifists have little interest in the educational future. Yet it is in education—true education of the future citizens of the world—that our real (indeed our only) hope for future world peace lies.

It started in 1832

It was the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 which first brought to the notice of the State the dangers of an uneducated population and led directly to the passing of the first Parliamentary grant in aid of education in 1833. From there, our educational system has developed—not steadily, but laboriously and uncertainly—to its present-day standard. And have we at last achieved our educated population? Most (but by no means all, as the Army has been startled to find) can read, write, and do their weekly arithmetical calculation of so many hours at so much less insurance and tax. We have national education, ad to quote Dr. C. E. M. Joad in his new book, "the result is

The eleventh Dick Sheppard anniversary gathering

Tomorrow, Saturday, Friends' House, Euston Rd., beginning at 3 p.m.

First performance of "The Gates of Mercy" at the Cripplegate Theatre, Golden Lane, Aldersgate, at 7 p.m.

3-4.15: Music and readings: Esther Hulbert, Austen Smith, Robert Thomson.
4.15-5.30: Tea (1s. 9d.) and opportunity for fellowship.
5.30-6.30: Meeting. Chairman: Donald Soper. Speakers: Alex Wood and Donald Port.
Admission to Friends' House: 1s. at the door.

COs can meet informally in the CO FELLOWSHIP ROOM, 4.0 to 5.30 p.m. Arranged by the London Regional Board for COs.

The play "Gates of Mercy," by Bryan Anstey and Roy Walker, will be performed by the North London Players, at 7 p.m. Seats (numbered and reserved) 1s. 6d., 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d. Tickets available at PPU, 6 Endsleigh St. W.C.1; Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd. N.4; and London Area PPU, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

WORDS OF PEACE No. 148

The Powers glare at each other across guarded frontiers. Causes of friction multiply. Pacts and alliances ensure that, if anywhere the smouldering suspicions and hatreds burst into flame, the conflagration will swiftly become general. Our own commitments as a nation are vague but vast.

In some respects the scene is darker than in 1914. The instruments of war are infinitely more terrible than they were, the consequences of war far more ghastly. Silence has armed the nations as bees are armed—with weapons whose employment may and probably will involve their own destruction.

Our only hope lies in the fact that a much greater number of people realize the danger of war than did so twenty-two years ago and are resolved, if they can, to avoid it.

—Dick Sheppard, "Thoughts for 1936," Peace News, Nov. 7, 1936.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisement imply any endorsement of, or PPU connection with, the matter advertised.

the 'News of the World' (circulation four million).

In other words, our educational system to date has taught people how to read, but not how to think. This is surely what must concern the pacifist, for until the majority of the population are able to think for themselves instead of being told what to think by press, radio and films, we shall continue to find that most people are more interested in football coupons, horses and dogs than in what is happening in the world, are more interested in the enjoyment of physical pleasures than in exercise of the mind.

It is useless for us to talk about turning our back on industrialism, to strive to return to a "simpler" life. Industry, press, radio, films, the motor-car, aeroplane, yes and the atomic bomb; these things are with us—we must face them and turn them to their proper use. We cannot be ostriches, we must be masters of these things. To achieve that we must educate the citizens of the future so that they may think for themselves.

THREEFOLD AIM

Education must have three aims—as Dr. Joad states in his book: (a) sociological, i.e., education for citizenship; (b) education for living; (c) vocational education. In the past our educational system has aimed too much at the last and hardly at the other two at all. The stock argument against this threefold educational aim—I heard it voiced again only last week—is that such education produces the desire to become a black-coated worker; a person so educated turns his back on the farm and the land (nothing is said of the conditions of work there). The best reply is to quote Joad again: "When the non-vocational Danish high schools had been in existence for a few years, it was found that the standards of Danish farming improved, although not agriculture but culture was taught at the high schools."

Dr. Joad's book is intended for the non-educationalists, and "aims to be neither technical nor dull." It achieves its object.

*About Education. Faber and Faber, 7s. 6d.

NO MORE POWER POLITICS!

by the Rev. W. R. INGE

I AM not prepared to say dogmatically that war—certatio per vim—can always be avoided in present circumstances. The doctrine of the Christian Church is that though war is clearly contrary to the Law of Nature, which is also the Law of God, we must accept a relative Law of Nature adapted to man's "fallen state" and recognize that our fallen state imposes upon us obligations which would not exist in a sinless society.

Nevertheless, I am entirely convinced that war is a hideous and barbarous anachronism which threatens the very existence of our species. To say that it is part of human nature is nonsense. It is unknown among the lower animals, with the possible exception of the social insects, and it is by no means universal among savages. Little as we have progressed in the six thousand years of recorded history, there are some customs that we have discarded. We do not examine witnesses on the rack, or burn those who wish to attend a different Church. War is the next abomination to go.

In this article I shall argue that abstention from power politics on the Continent will be forced upon us by circumstances over which we have no control, and that it is our wisdom to accept this fact at once. We cannot bring pressure to bear upon Russia, and we shall only have to eat humble pie if we try to do so. We may plead for justice to the weaker nations, but we cannot enforce it. We never have been a continental Power, and we never shall be.

New centre of wealth

IN order to understand the present position of Great Britain in the world, we must go back to the great age of discovery at the Renaissance. The opening of the sea-route to the East round the Cape of Good Hope, and the landing of Columbus in America, brought to an end the Mediterranean period of European history, and transferred the centre of wealth and power to the countries bordering on the Atlantic. Spain, Portugal, France, England and Holland had their day of prosperity. In the sixteenth century Spain was the terror of her neighbours. The seventeenth and eighteenth were the era of the Roi Soleil and French ascendancy. The nineteenth belonged to Great Britain, which flourished exceedingly as the workshop of the world. Now it is plain that eastward—not westward—as Berkeley said, the course of empire takes its way.

How did we use our good fortune? Just as any other nation would have used it. We quadrupled our population. We used our maritime power to annex and partially colonize most of the desirable and half empty lands of the world. We sacrificed our agriculture to meet the requirements of our growing urban population, and in so doing dried up the source which supplied our emigrant pioneers. We mortgaged our future by exporting our irreplaceable wealth of coal. We also exported our machinery, and vast sums in invested capital. In these ways we taught and enabled our rivals to do without us.

The great Liberal experiment, as H. A. L. Fisher calls it, does not deserve the scorn which is sometimes cast upon it. It was the inevitable response to a temporary challenge. It rested on an expanding economy, and the age of expansion for us has definitely ended. The tide began to turn about 1878, when the importation of prairie-grown foodstuffs ruined our farmers. After 1900 it became plain that our privileged position had come to an end.

So far, what I have said can hardly be disputed. But there is another consideration which, though it may be unwelcome, cannot be disregarded. The future does not belong to the high standard nations. Nothing fails like success. Ruling classes and ruling nations rule themselves out. Those who try to make themselves comfortable at other people's expense sign their own death warrant.

History is full of examples; and are there not plenty of warnings in our

day? The French will not touch heavy work, and they have had to import two millions of aliens, including Africans. We did not lose America in the reign of George III; we are losing it now. The descendants of the old colonies are in a small minority. The thrifty and industrious French-Canadians are pressing forward in Ontario and Maine. Americans and Australians know well what their fate would be if the Asians got a footing on their shores. This, by the way, is a thing which our pacifists find it convenient to forget. A Japanese gentleman once impressed it upon me in a way which I found difficult to answer. A Chinese wall is useless unless there are soldiers to defend it.

A rich nation can support a small class of drones. But a dole-receiving nation, living on mass-bribery, has no more survival value than the State-supported populace of Rome under the Empire. The time comes when the loot is exhausted.

We have lost our huge income from foreign investments; and how can we hope to recover our foreign trade? A self-supporting country can do without exports: we depend upon them for our daily bread. Will any one dare to say that the British workman gives better value for his wages than the German or Russian or Italian?

End of Imperialism

THE gist of what I am saying is that we must resign ourselves to a contracting economy, which means either a smaller population or a lower standard of living. In either case it means an end of imperialism. I hope our Dominions will open their doors; but Australia and Canada are pledged to maintain an even higher standard of living than ours, and only fear will induce the Australians to change their policy of restriction. Moreover, our Dominions are no longer our "possessions"; they are not obliged to help us out of our difficulties.

Peace has always been our first interest; it is now so more than ever. We are likely, I think, to go back gradually to pre-industrial England, with a much smaller population living mainly on the land. Need we regret the prospect of returning to the England which produced Shakespeare, Newton and Milton? Plain living and high thinking, the Christianity of the Gospels and humanism tempered by Puritanism, a healthy life in contact with Mother Earth—if this is to be our fate, we may look back upon the nineteenth century, the "age of hope" followed by an age of bitter disillusionments, not without pride and thankfulness, but acknowledging the truth of Aristotle's canon that all human achievements, after reaching their natural culmination, "come to a stop."

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THE ATOMIC DEBATE CONTINUES

WHO ARE THE ATOMS?

asks
Capt. J. R. WHITE, D.S.O.

YOUR leader "Last Act?" in Peace News of Sept. 14 comforts me. Why? Because when I read the announcement of the atomic bomb I got a kick, and honesty compels me to admit the intellectual pleasure of that kick outweighed the emotional horror. But it is not pleasant to be forced to admit that one has derived pleasure of any kind from something which has already involved the destruction of a quarter million people, and is possibly pregnant with the destruction of all humanity.

Your leader therefore comforts me because if you do not derive positive pleasure from the atomic bomb, you admit a sort of negative satisfaction at its potentiality for complete destruction of humanity, proved unfit to survive. Your leader closes "If we cannot (i.e. stop the massacre of the innocents in Europe by famine and pestilence) there is no need to worry about the atom bomb. It is time we went. God is tired of us."

I cannot speak as to the reasons of God's fatigue with humanity. I can only speak for my own. Your leader implies that God is tired of humanity's moral turpitude. For my part I am even more bored than morally shocked. I derived intellectual pleasure from the atomic bomb, because I have long realized that humanity was mentally effete. It has lost the power of formulating any new question. The atomic bomb forces it at least to formulate a question, which might conceivably result in looking in the right direction for the answer. Your leader formulates such a question. You write, "Probably some demonic urge has been driving it (humanity) on till it discovered the appointed instrument (of its own destruction)." Now I confess the intellectual pleasure I experienced was due to the vindication of an intuition, which has governed my life and shaped my reason for 40 years, that humanity was being driven to its own destruction by just that, a demonic urge.

BUT if we agree thus far, there seems to be a rider or a corollary, or whatever they call it. And that is that it is waste of time to expect, or work for, humanity's salvation on the normal visible levels, which form the data for humanity's alleged reason. We must find the demons before we can hope to succeed. Even you, sir, are vague as to whether there are any demons behind your demonic urge. I have always felt that humanity's alleged reason looked for its demons too near the surface, where it was not obliged to extend it old familiar, not to say stale, hypotheses or premisses. These premisses have long seemed to me so stale, and to limit the question within so narrow a compass, that it was futile to expect an adequate answer. So I became bored with the whole field of humanity's alleged reason. It is possible that God may be bored too; more intellectually bored with humanity's utter failure to conceive a new premiss, even than He is morally shocked and disgusted.

The leader in this number of Peace News is not the only item that comforts me. Alan Staniland, in an article headed "We must think again" writes as follows: "One has a feeling that the whole scale of life has to be increased to be comparable with the possible scale of death, as though in some queer way our ordinary lives do not justify the abnegation of so stupendous and magnificent a climax."

I have had that feeling too for a long time. Not only have I had that feeling but I tried to voice it, with some approach to reason from a new premiss, at least a year before the discovery of the atomic bomb. I did "think again," but I did not wait for the atomic bomb to make me do so. The atomic bomb came along afterwards to ratify my dangerous and subversive new premiss of thought. In the first instalment of

an article which appeared in the January and April Adelphis of this year, I wrote as follows:

"For believing as I do that humanity has an insatiable hunger for supersensible experience, I believe that humanity will pay the price. Indeed I believe that humanity is paying the price. The present concentration on death or some rapture directly connected with death is the price humanity is paying, and willingly paying, for ecstasy, unobtainable at present by any other means." My essential intuition is the same as Staniland's. "The whole scale of life has to be increased to be comparable with the possible scale of death."

In other words let us have extended and ecstatic life, or extended and total death. So the question becomes, how can we have extended and ecstatic life? Otherwise there is something in us that will conduct the demonic urge to total self-destruction. Our ordinary lives are too much in the nature of half-way houses, and we are bored with them. Perhaps the demons, if there are any demons behind the demonic urge, know this, and literally want to bore us to death by preventing us entertaining any new premiss, which will extend the scope of life.

LEAVE IT TO THE DEMONS

Now there is a very old premiss that there was a Fall, interrupting the primal order of divine creation. According to the premiss, there were actual demonic entities responsible for the interruption. But that old premiss has been almost universally discarded. Even those who maintain the premiss as a dogma, like the Catholic Church, can throw no light whatever on the mechanism of how we remain the continuing victims of some primeval Fall, probably in a prior incarnation of the Earth and in a fiery or etheric state—in short a subatomic state of matter. So we must leave it to the demons to throw some light on themselves, which they will be very reluctant to do, as their supreme camouflage is the universal disbelief in their existence.

I have asked a new question; posited a new hypothesis. If the demons are really subatomic entities, the atomic bomb, and its effect on its surviving victims, may help to reveal their methods and their motives. In this letter I can make no attempt to answer my question, though I have made some attempt elsewhere. Here I merely summarize the question in the heading of this article.

THE PACIFIST FUNCTIONS

IT is a natural thing for society to judge pacifists by what they do in wartime, and yet it gives an entirely misleading impression of their effectiveness. Pacifists are at their worst in war, although few of them seem to understand why. General Fuller came near to supplying the reason in his stimulating letter in PN of August 31. He said he was fed up with pacifists "anathematizing war," "harping on its effects" and defining the meaning of pacifism. He asks for a definition of the "functions" of pacifists, and suggests that they are to discover the causes of war and put forward "cures and preventatives."

BUT these are no more distinctively pacifist functions than the condemnation of atrocities. Diagnosis of the pathology of society is only slightly removed from, and is a logical development of, indignation at its symptoms. As such it is not confined to those who believe that violence must be eliminated from society. The true function of the pacifists is to diagnose and promote the causes of peace: and to do so with a conviction that it is possible to build a society from which violence is excluded.

PACIFISTS are at their worst in wartime for the same reason that fascism finds its highest expression through military struggle. Conditions of violence and bloodshed provide no opportunity for the expression of the pacifist ideal. The war resistance of individual COs, which some elevate to the pinnacle of achievement is, at best, a frustrated affirmation of a genuine pacifist conviction and, at worst, no more than a perverse refusal to accept the responsibilities of citizenship. Non-violent struggle is, at its best, a brave attempt to accept the unpleasant consequences of citizenship without using the methods of violence.

THE true function of the pacifist cannot be fulfilled except in a state of relative peace. That is why he has a tremendously difficult task. Some, indeed, argue that it cannot be undertaken within the framework of existing society, but only by creating "communities" in which something near to laboratory conditions can be obtained. It is true that effective pacifist work needs to be

O GOD, the word, the name, the power,
Touch my brain with quickening fire
This once.
That I like Samson bound,
Goaded and blind,
May bring the pillars down
Crashing to earth the temple's lie.
Rubble and dust and broken brick,
Splintered stone and twisted steel,
Shattered slums and Gothic curves
Hanging like putrid bones on high
Decking the crooked gallows tree.
Why do we gape at empty shells
Cascading their household goods
From shelving floor to floor
Indecently into the streets?

A patch of paper patterned on the wall
Shows where a child has rubbed its hand
As it climbed to bed by the vanished stair.
Have we less pity for the shattered young?

The body torn as open as a house,
The bowels down gushing to the grave,
To be forgotten there and turn to dust?

Where women glean the broken slats
And old men saw
Charred beams,
Great baulks of timber,
Against the winter's cold,
And ghouls pick over garbage tins
To keep themselves alive.

A conquered people go their way
With grim determination,
Seeking the outlet to a maze—
A malecho of mischief and past deeds—
Too cowed to show their feelings,
Except those steeling eyes that stare
And have no sight but hate;

The missing limb, the crutch, the halting gait,
Pass by and leave an aching void,
An icebound thing that lives.
Queues, queues.
Food, clothes, tobacco, bread.

Man cannot live by bread alone.
Soup plates in the Platz.
Hunger and ravenous eating
Where can we hide
While we gulp it down?
Hunger and shame and despair
Lorries go by packed with people,
Standing, swerving and swaying.
Whence have they come?
Where are they going?
Home, home, home!
Is there a home?
Has it a prop?
Is the bride bed a looted wreck?
The garden a trampled latrine?
How can we tell?
How may we ask?
Verboten, verboten, verboten
To speak, to smile, to explain.
How can they understand?
"Why should they, the swine?"
"Wipe them out. Shoot the lot."
"Give them a plastering."
"There's only one good German . . ."
"You can't trust the sods."
"Just look at their faces!"

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A countryman smiles from his waggon
Because I admire his nags:
A child slips her hand into mine,
The mother laughs back as I turn.
Ceres and Pan and Persephone.
A tender bud on an ancient tree,
An ear of wheat, the symbolic corn,
And the earth reborn:
The seed of love in the heart of man.
Kill it, kill it, kill it.

Twilight tints the ruins red,
Calm descends upon the spirit.
Sudden unexpected laughter
Cleaves the scented summer air.
Children playing by the Alster—
Lovers walking hand in hand—
Bronzed young soldiers, risking greatly,
Talk to girls beneath the trees.
Hope arises like a star,
Tracing on the rippled water
Slender flecks of shifting gold:
Hope of friendship, hope of justice,
Hope of force we dare not use—
Kill it, kill it, kill it.

Must we dam the source
Of our intercourse?
Muffle the power behind the mind
That leads mankind to create its God?
The grain that grows to the Rose of Love—
Trample it, bury it deep in the earth.
(But the earth will turn in its own good time,
And cover the wounds with its clover blooms.)
Armoured swaggerers, Master Race,
Diplomats, lawyers, bankers, too,
Awake!
Awake from your dreams of poisoned peace,
Conceived in fear, and spawned in spite,
Hatching out bastards of blood and iron—
(Swords not ploughshares shall till your soil.)
Awake!
Listen to Abraham, Father and seer,
When he reasons with God, the omnipotent,
For the Fate of the cities of sin.
The jealous Avenger will spare them
For the sake of a few righteous men.
How many?
Fifty? Forty? Thirty? Twenty?
See how he twists and turns,
Pleading, cajoling,
"Twenty, Oh Lord?"
"Then
"Why not ten
"Just men?"

Awake! and build a world of light,
A tower of Faith as high as Babel,
Confounding priests and tribal gods,
Die-hard despair and strong denial.
Until integrity of man's desire,
With open arms and outstretched hands,
Shall save the world for human thought,
Abundant life and rich endeavour,
And from the cross pluck out the nails,
And bring what cannot be to pass.

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HARCOURT WILLIAMS.
Hamburg, 1945.

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DONALD PORT

It has happened before . . .

WHEN the stone axe was man's most fearsome implement of war the tree was his place of refuge. He was then a hundred per cent. individualist, of necessity when squatting on a branch. The man of science made a new weapon that would fling a missile up to the highest branch. That caused a revolution in human society. The tree was no longer safe so man took to the caves—and began his first and most elementary co-operation. The family became the unit for defence. The cave was a satisfactory answer to the bow and arrow. The man inside was safe in the dark; the man at the entrance was a conspicuous mark for an arrow.

So the man of science made a bronze spear and his military confrere took to night warfare. The cave was no longer safe. The stockaded village became the defence, the clan the defensive unit. This seems to show that each advance in destructive weapons has been answered by a larger measure of human co-operation, and of necessity a larger space for the organisation.

The advent of iron and steel weapons put the stockade out of date. Castles and walled towns followed with a tribal or similar unit of defence. Then gunpowder made all the old defences, suits of armour included, useless and obsolete.

The defensive answer was the nation with its spatial unit the country. Men sheltered behind fortified frontiers and navies. The air arm was only an extension of the naval defence.

★
AND now—! The rocket plus the atom-bomb makes our land, sea and air armaments as obsolete as castles and coats of mail. What must we do? Simply as before: extend our units of co-operation and defence. Alliances and blocs are insufficient. Only the whole human family with its spatial unit the world is sufficient to meet this new terror.

JOHN H. BROCKLESBY.

GANDHI'S BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

"Every true activity carries its own blessing." So called Mr. Gandhi to the Gandhi Society, London, in thanking them for their greetings on his 76th birthday which fell on Oct. 2.

The Society, which had asked a blessing of the Mahatma, hoped that he would have "many happy returns of the day to guide millions of people towards peaceful manners and measures." Its members were "expected to spend the day in fasting and prayer according to their physical capacity."

Captives into Comrades

AUDREY JUPP tells the story of some Italian P.O.W.s

"TO keep us prisoner, this we could understand but to say we may be free and then to treat us like this, rather in prison would I be."

This was the pathetic judgment of an Italian prisoner who had experienced "freedom" in this country for a few months. Travelling on the train every evening with some Italians who were recognised as "non-fascisti," one learned something of their humiliation. The Englishmen and women with whom they worked had got, in spite of prejudice, to like many of them, and were friendly enough within the walls of their workshops, but because of public opinion they would not be seen speaking to them in the street. They became so conscious of their ostracism that they would rather stand aloof in the corridor of a train than risk the snub they had so often encountered. More and more they looked, not like live individuals but a crowd of indistinguishable automata.

Filial disillusionment

Many of these men were the sons of courageous socialists who had opposed Mussolini through terrible persecution. Only disillusionment, through the lack of support for their fathers' faith from freedom-loving countries, prevented some of these men from treading in their fathers' footsteps. Others knew nothing of politics, except Mussolini's ideas which most of them disbelieved automatically, but were plunged into mental torture by news of the death in air raids of mothers, fathers and sweethearts from whom they had been separated for years.

The attitude of the English, among whom they found themselves when "free," had not convinced them that for "democracy" they should have faced the dangers of opposing fascism vigorously.

By good fortune, one or two of these particular Italians met a member of the PPU who, when they were moved to Ashford, Kent, introduced two of them to the members in that town, and for some of them, at least, the long nightmare of cold unfriendliness was at an end.

On first visiting the homes of our members, they were nervous and unaccustomed (after as much as four years in prison camps) to comfortable armchairs, decently set meals, friendly faces and women's company, but their sunny natures soon conquered their fear.

Their halting English and their English friends' non-existent Italian have been uncending sources of amusement. "W" has learnt that honey does not come as he first insisted from "mosquitoes" and that Friday night is not "pie-night" but "pay-night." "G" has learned the intricacies of "doesn't it" and "wasn't it" and so on, but much more important they have all learned that Englishmen are not always cold-hearted and lacking in sympathy, nor do they all fail to see that real freedom can only be achieved through mutual trust between races.

Nature conquers fear

Naturally only a small proportion of the Italians could be reached in this way, by inviting them frequently to one's home, but social gatherings to which forty of them came, and a good many English people too, reached more of them, and visits by one of our older members to Italians in hospital have brought home to many that someone cared about their welfare.

Recently the situation has been aggravated by the fact that their rations have been drastically reduced. They are sent to heavy farm work or engineering shops on a breakfast of one slice of bread and a cup of weak tea. Dinner is sometimes only boiled potatoes and chipped potatoes. They are always hungry.

Those who have befriended them have seen thwarted, unhappy men becoming laughing, happy boys, anxious to help in anything from washing up to decarbonising the car; pathetically grateful for a kind word, yet daily regaining their self-respect and confidence. This is a service to humanity which brings immediate results, and a reward beyond all comparison to the service given.

Anyone who wants to offer a friendly gesture to the "collaborators" can write to the Commandant of their camp who is quite sympathetic, and will tell anyone what the Italians may and may not do, and might arrange for some of them to be "introduced" to the enquirer; but it is also possible to get talking to them in the streets, or in the cinema queues.

It might also help to write to M.P.s demanding an increase in rations for all Prisoners of War in this country. If they can't be sent home immediately, the Government should be pressed to tell them openly and sensibly, why not. Otherwise they will assume that we are another Master Race using their skill for our own rehabilitation and getting it cheaply, too.

"INWARD SENSE OF DILEMMA"

CORDER CATCHPOOL on C.O.s

CORDER CATCHPOOL, joint Hon. Treasurer of the PPU, has contributed to The Conscientious Objector, of New York, a survey of British pacifism in World War II. He notes "the most striking change," as compared with the last war, "is the diminished sense of opposition between COs as a group and the national community as a whole, including the national government."

This "easier accommodation" flowed in part from "the absence of recruiting campaigns, conducted in the last war nowhere more vigorously than from the Christian pulpit." But there was also a modification of "the attitude of challenge" on the part of the rebels: and of this Corder Catchpool writes:

The series of aggressive wars during the last decade, beginning with the Japanese attack on China in 1932, followed by the war in Abyssinia and Spain, and culminating in the Second World War, reduced almost to the vanishing point the element of political conscientious objection which, although often refused recognition, played a considerable part in the CO movement of 1914-1918. A similar effect resulted from the nature of the Hitler regime, with its horrors that nothing could gloss over or explain away, and its toll of left-wing political as well as racial victims. The intense hostility to fascism of the British Labour Party, which most COs supported, tended further to weaken their opposition, politically.

MORAL OBJECTION

Resistance to military service in 1939 and following years came mainly from members of the organized pacifist movement in its various branches, and was generally based on religious or moral objection. Some leading pacifists of the last war supported this one, and even accepted posts in a government whose supreme purpose was the "winning of the war."

Even where the pacifist position was outwardly maintained, there was often an inward sense of dilemma.

This did not in most cases lead to abandonment of the claim to conscientious objection, but it did result in some hesitancy and weakness which were in contrast with the earlier confidence of the movement. The inmost citadel of the faith was held, but the note of eagerness and challenge in the CO cause had diminished.

NEWS FROM THE STATES

Henry Weber, American Socialist CO, who was originally sentenced to death, has had his appeal for clemency rejected by the Under-Secretary for War. This means that the sentence of five years' imprisonment, to which it has been commuted, still stands.

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MEETINGS, &c.

FREDERICK H. —U. BOWMAN speaks Pleasant St. School, Liverpool, nr. Adelphi Hotel, Tues., Oct. 30, 7.30. Support the only anti-war Municipal Candidate. Write Frederick Bowman, Liverpool, 1.

"INDIAN INDEPENDENCE" Conference: distinguished spkrs. to discuss the Indian demand, Oct. 26-30. Evening sessions (7 p.m.). Caxton Hall, Caxton St., S.W.1. Morning sessions (11 a.m.) 52 Lancaster Gate, W.2. All sessions 5s. Single session 1s. Organized by Indian Independence Union.

MIDLAND PACIFIST Fellowship, Selly Oak F.M.H., Sun., Nov 4 (3 p.m.), "Tasks Ahead," John S. Hoyland.

CROYDON, SAT., Nov. 3, 3 p.m. Peoples' Peace Crusade, Mass Open-air mtg. at Katharine St. Spkrs.: Roy Walker and Mrs. Duncan Harris and others.

BROMLEY PEACE Fellowship, William Morris Hall, Masons Hill, Mon., Oct. 29, 8 p.m. Spkr.: Albert D. Relden, "Pax Christi," "Can the Churches Abolish War?"

NORTHAMPTON BREAKFAST—Sun., Nov. 4, 8.30. Harry T. Silcock. Recently retired, from Quaker service in China. "My Life in China."

HIGHGATE. "Save Europe Now" Public Meeting. Co-operative Hall, 270 Archway Rd., N.6. Tues., Oct. 30, 7.45 p.m. Dr. Belden, Fenner Brockway. Chairman: Hugh Wilson.

LONDON FORUM Public Lecture. M. Chaning-Pearce: "The Regress of the West." Alliance Hall, Palmer St., Westminster, Oct. 29, 7.30.

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'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

course, we should have to make up our minds what sort of Germany we want to see finally emerge and argue it out with the other three occupying powers. (New Statesman, Oct. 20.)

The first thing to note is that this alternative is impracticable. If the restoration of the British zone of Germany to economic life were to have waited till the Allies had reached agreement on the future of Germany, the British zone would be in as grievous a condition as the Russian or the French. It is one thing to desire agreement with Russia and France upon a tolerable future for Germany, quite another to secure it.

Technical necessity

THE second—really more important—is that Mr. Crossman shrinks from admitting an obvious fact—that it is impossible to run a modern technological society without the technicians: and that the German technicians were in the service of the Nazi State. (Indeed the Nazi revolution was partly a revolt of the technicians against their frustration.) Therefore, you cannot restore Germany to the extent required to defeat starvation and mass-unemployment without the co-operation of thousands of men who held key-positions under the Nazis. To permit a political purge of them would prevent the re-animation of Germany.

Mr. Crossman's refusal to admit the necessities of the "managerial society" derives (I think) from a prior refusal to admit that there was any good whatever in Nazism. This is really obscurantism. There was some good in Nazism. Mr. Crossman should ponder the dictum "Nazism is the Communism of an already advanced industrial society."

Strength before surgery

IN the British zone we are postponing the political problem: which is to create, or foster, a new kind of indigenous German political control for the German society. First things first. We have had to secure that a German society exists at all, where our writ runs. The fostering of a sense of political responsibility in the German is a long job, which will certainly not be facilitated by compromising with the Russian methods. Mr. Crossman grimly compares the two: Whereas the Russians have decided on surgery without anaesthetics, we are restoring the patient's strength before deciding whether an operation is necessary.

There is no doubt that the latter is the more humane and the more scientific way. The idea that irreparable damage is done if Nazi technicians remain in key positions is naive, and springs from fear of the Nazi bogeyman.

The Austrian burden

CONSIDER the case of Austria. The sense of political responsibility is more developed in Austria than in the German Reich. What prevents the recovery of that tortured country is not the absence of Austrians fit to form a capable democratic Socialist government, but the intolerable exactions of the Russians. The one definite thing promised by the Big Three was the independence of Austria. Yet a Russian army, "conservatively estimated" at a half-million men, is living off the Russian zone of Austria after having stripped it of most of its capital equipment and live-stock.

Imagine it. A half-million not very gentle soldiers living off a territory which can support perhaps a million and a half people. How many people are really aware that the Russian army lives off the countries it has liberated in breach of the civilized conventions of modern war? This may be to some extent excused by the difficulties of transport and the shortage of food in Russia; but nothing can excuse the maintenance of vast and unnecessary armies by a method so barbarous and oppressive.

No third way in Greece

ONE feels that throughout Europe—Britain included—everyone is too exhausted, too near breaking-point, to make the constructive effort required to save Europe from collapse. The steady degeneration of the political situation in Greece is a cold douche to the dream of a democratic Europe. The necessary conditions of democracy—tolerance and co-operativeness—simply do not exist in Greece: therefore, it follows that a third alternative to Communism and Fascism does not exist, except turning Greece into a British protectorate for a time.

"The world is poor in spirit"

SIR JOHN BOYD ORR told the National Peace Council's London Conference that recent advances in the biological sciences, if applied, might give them a new race of beings, intellectually and physically superior. The world was potentially rich; but it was poor in spirit.

Had they the means of creating the conditions which would enable human beings to attain the status which they knew could be attained? Food and shelter were the immediate basic necessities, and the world today was short of both.

"In the coming winter," said Sir John, "more people may die for lack of food and shelter than were killed in the whole five years of war."

What should be the first duty of Governments?—to provide the necessities of life. Here was something on which all could co-operate.

If the nations would pool their resources for this definite yet limited objective their racial jealousies and imperialistic ambitions would fade into the background. They could quite well say, "Let us defer dealing with these questions of boundaries and the like until people are fed. What does it matter on which side of a boundary a man lives if his children are dying of starvation?" Boundaries are preparations for war; the whole world is now within one boundary. In this transformation, Britain's political maturity enabled her to lead the world.

Mr. G. D. H. Cole told the Conference that the possibility of producing the food and raw materials on the scale required depended on a colossal scheme of international investment. In neither the USA nor the USSR did the common people enjoy a sufficiently high

standard of life to realize that some sacrifice on their part was needed to raise the standards of others.

We must stop talking about parliamentary democracy in the Balkans and talk to Russia in the language of Sir John Orr, stressing the fundamental needs of the people, in which she was interested. They understood practical jobs of social engineering, and we should try to get the closest agreement on functional co-operation.

(These excerpts are from speeches at the Oct. 5-6 Conference, from which we have already published summaries of speeches by John Middleton Murry and H. N. Brailsford. It is understood that the addresses of Messrs. Murry, Orr and Cole are being republished by the NPC in pamphlet form.)

CORNISH ONE-DAY SCHOOL

ON Sunday, Oct. 14, PPU members from 11 Cornish towns came together for the first time since 1939, realizing that the time was opportune to plan effectively for the future of the Union in Cornwall.

The morning session was devoted to a survey of the world-wide pacifist movement in which Stuart Morris gave an absorbing account of the origin of the WRI and spoke of its efforts to strengthen the links between War Resisters from 1921 until 1939. His description of the tribulations of Continental comrades during the War moved the chairman, Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, to express a feeling of humility, which he felt sure was shared by the school, when he compared their sufferings with our comparatively easy time.

The 31 members present at this Session agreed to hold a "Save Europe Now" public meeting at Camborne on Nov. 4, and a resolution calling on the Government "to take such measures as may prevent irreparable disaster, etc." was passed unanimously for forwarding to the local Press and M.P.

In the final session the chairman, Mr. G. C. Maddever, spoke of the inspiration the school had been to them all and hoped that in their discussion on "Our Future Work" the members would recognize the urgent necessity of finding unity of purpose. They were a little weary of division in the Union and often depressed by the negative tone of Peace News. A. A. M.

Diary, the date - Nov. 4

The Peoples' Peace Crusade's first big effort will culminate in a public meeting under the title "World Peace and Europe's Needs" in Friends' House, Euston Road, at 3 p.m. on Nov. 4.

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Vera Brittain and Stuart Morris will speak, with Lady Parmoor presiding. The team of Crusade speakers travelling in the north will have returned and will also be present.

This meeting should be the focus of London's effort for which the work in the provinces is to lay the foundations. Let us not fail our friends in other parts of the country. Make this widely known both to your pacifist friends and to the public. Handbills and posters will be available from Dick Sheppard House, announces the Public Action Committee of the PPU.

LETTERS

Inclusive or exclusive

THERE has been much thought and writing, of late, on the subjects of planning, freedom, socialism, the need for a public change of heart, etc.: and quite rightly so.

May I suggest that much of this thinking and writing misses its mark because the thinker tends to think of his particular idea or scheme as so important that it excludes the other ideas. For instance, planning and freedom are not (or need not be) mutually exclusive. On the contrary, in a world of increasing interdependence we cannot have real freedom without a much greater degree of planning; but the planning must include individual freedom as a main objective.

Again, a public change of heart is not an alternative to planning and (to use Scott Williamson's illuminating term) Liberal Socialism: the change of heart and change of system under which we live cannot be separated—each is an essential factor in the process of developing the other. The two things cannot happen separately because each must help to produce the other by a process of continuous action and reaction.

The pacifist movement as such, comprising men and women of fundamentally divergent principles and views and united only by a negative, cannot hope, I feel, to carry through a successful propaganda campaign resulting in a national or international change of heart of revolutionary impact. But the individual members thereof, heartened by the consciousness of a pacifist movement alongside them and the existence of a revolutionary world situation making possible a mighty advance, can surely go forward each in his own small sphere, endeavouring to advance and establish his principles in his own corner of that sphere. Religion; political and economic freedom and democracy; industry and commerce; a national health system; the proper treatment of the soil on which and by which we live; trades union protection; education; cultural growth and recreation—all these things are mutually related and must be governed by real natural laws if life is not to degenerate and humanity destroy itself. There is no one answer, no panacea: only an unending, sometimes bitter, always laborious and detailed struggle . . . as it were, exploring every avenue and turning every stone . . . enquiring . . .

And in spite of Mr. Wellock's pessimism and Mr. Murry's gloomy somersaults, there is still a lot of fun to be found lurking under the stones and up the avenues, to him who can remember that a serious purpose and a realization of the suffering around are no real excuse for a permanent frown and an air of perpetual personal grime. The "Pacifist Test" was a good beginning: I wish we could find a pacifist A. P. Herbert or Tommy Handley to cheer up our somewhat mournful paper.

RONALD G. PERRY.

Laval's "realism"

Allow me, as a Frenchman and a pacifist who has lived in France during the German occupation, to protest against your defence of Laval.

I agree that Laval had been an able and clever pre-war politician. But his attitude and policy in power in 1940 and 1942-44 admit of no defence. True pacifists in France agreed that another war between Germany and France would bring miseries to both

countries and advocated a policy of mutual understanding even when Hitler was in power. But when they realized that "collaboration" was nothing but a dupery, they could not hope any more for a real friendship between the two countries. Laval and Petain declared at their trials that they had to gain the confidence of the Germans by saying such rubbish as "I wish the victory of Germany."

I have always believed that they should have aimed at having the confidence of France first, which Laval at least never had during the occupation. Therefore your statement "the notion that France as a whole resisted, or had the will to resist, is a fantasy" is entirely wrong. Hundreds of French people who resisted Laval's policy of collaboration were arrested and sent to prison, many others were handed over to the Gestapo. Pacifists, too, were not usually considered as favourable to the Vichy regime. Most of the conscientious objectors arrested before the Armistice were kept in prison and sentenced to long-term imprisonments, even after the Armistice.

Laval's attitude to Germany was not a pacifist attitude. If it had been, he would not have allowed the drastic demand of slave workers for the Reich intended to make munitions. His defence regarding this point is that it allowed many POWs to be relieved and sent back home, and that besides he could not help the German demands. I do believe myself he could have helped them or at least have made them less heavy. If he really could not, then I would much have preferred a "Gaulleter," however hard life might have been for us.

MAURICE LECUYER.

23 Meadow Road, Gravesend, Kent.

Laval was the victim of circumstances; knowing France as I do, I count the death of Laval as just another blot on a country always prone to duplicity and cruelty.

What country professing to be civilized would revive a man with a pump, and shoot him? His jury were ghoulies, his judge a liar, and many still holding their heads high, are worse than ever Laval was. No doubt Laval caused pain and suffering to those sent to Germany to labour in their diabolical war effort, but I think Pierre Laval suffered and was punished by remorse—because what else could he do?

Laval has gone and we "all have sinned and come short of God's Glory" and all we can say is, we hope

"And life's long fight is ended and the way lies open onward to Eternal Day."

M. M. NIVEN.

4 College Square, Llanelli.

Almighty revival

Are we to assume that J.M.M. was being merely melodramatic when he decided in a recent editorial that "God is tired of us"? For he now tries to revive the interest of the Almighty with recourse to flagging that long dead horse, democratic socialism.

One is forced to conclude, which is difficult to believe, that having rejected nihilism, together with the whole gamut of "revolutionary" thought as valid analyses, he is now frantically turning over the old ideas in the remote hope of finding a peg on which to hang even one optimistic thought.

Recently one has looked to J.M.M. as the one sober voice (with the possible exception of "Observer") amidst the welter of foolish optimism which is Peace News today, and the confirmation that this retrogression was merely a passing weakness, and not a permanent relapse into wishful-thinking, is awaited with some anxiety.

GEOFFREY WESTON.

365 Lower Addiscombe Road, Croydon.

No amnesty here - 3300 COs in U.S. jails

A DEMOBILISATION scheme for C.O.'s is under consideration by the Government: the Home Secretary has turned down the Central Board for C.O.'s request for an amnesty.

These are the main items of CO news, against which background CO Fellowship began. The first item is the substance of the Minister of Labour's reply in the Commons on Oct. 16. Mr. Isaacs promised the House an early statement of details.

Details of these moves appear in the Oct. issue of the CBCO Bulletin (3d.), which also includes an account of COs who are liable to be disqualified from local government candidatures as a result of having been imprisoned during the war. In Bermondsey, one sitting Councillor, James Jacques, has already been prevailed upon to withdraw as a result.

In a message of greetings for C.O. Fellowship Week, the War Resisters League, New York, point out that,

"The report that only 52 British COs are still in prison comes with a shock to us, who are concerned for the release of about 3,300 imprisoned men. The discrepancy indicates that your choice of concentrating on defence of COs, rather than administration of a conscription programme, was an example that the bulk of American pacifists, who made the other choice, might have done well to follow."

SERVICE UNITS CONFERENCE

BY reason of the size of PSU, democratic machinery works smoothly and efficiently. This year's Annual Conference was, as usual, a gathering of members and interested friends to examine the past year's work and discuss future possibilities.

Duncan Christie confined his report to the Cardiff, Hampstead, and part-time Units. Cardiff, he said, despite personnel difficulties had done valuable pioneer work in an area which was in desperate need. The work of the Hampstead Unit had been almost completed.

Part-time Units still existed in Birmingham, Bristol, Culwyn Bay, Coventry, Gloucester, Leytonstone, Swansea and Walthamstow. Much of their war-time work had come to an end and they were now examining the opportunities for peace-time service.

David Jones of Liverpool and Len White of Brockley gave descriptions of the continued progress of the case-work and neighbourhood Units respectively.

During discussion of the financial position the question was raised whether PSU considered its subsistence basis as desirable, or as a necessary evil. Nancy Richardson, said that while it was realized that present rates of pay made it impossible to retain the services of some experienced workers, it was unlikely that funds would increase sufficiently to enable PSU to pay its workers a proper wage.

Donald Port opened a discussion in the evening on "Social Service and Political Change."

PEOPLES' PEACE CRUSADE

Bryan Anstey, Corder Catchpool and Roger Page

will speak on

The Public Action Committee

Statement

at the

Alliance Hall, Westminster, S.W.1

at

3 p.m., Sunday, October 28

This meeting is the London opening of the Peoples' Peace Crusade, which will be starting on the same day in Carlisle and Newcastle. It is hoped that all London members intending to take part in the Crusade will be present.

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Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.